1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

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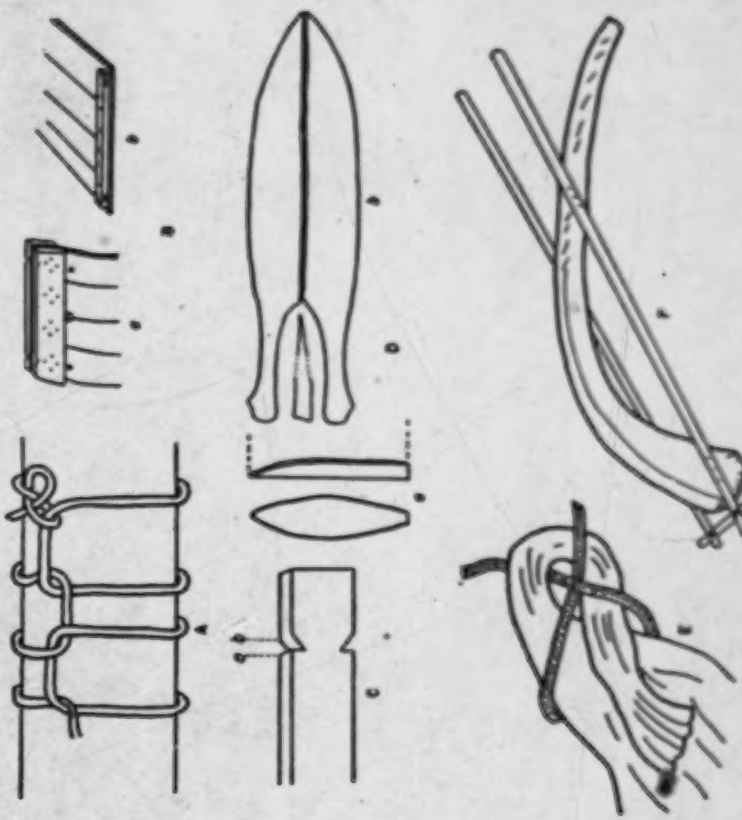

Fig. 5. Knife Manufacturing Techniques: A, Hammerstone knife for use in knife; B, Triangular cross-section; C, Notched handle; D, Shoulders for fur; E, Sharp bend for warp; F, Bending frame for green handle.

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283 thumb, pulled free, and set aside. When these loose strands have been exhausted, the worker using her fingernails, picks strands away from the block and then strips them free. This continues until the entire block has been separated into individual strands of line. Each of these strands is now placed on the woman's knee and twisted. This is done by moistening the flat of the fingertips with saliva and using them to rub the sinew strand toward the body of the worker. The ends of each strand are then twisted by twisting them between the moistened thumb and index finger. The strands are preserved for sewing moccasins and [462] mittens. All line is manufactured by women. In addition to native cordage, people use manila rope, sewing thread, brass wire, and insulated copper cable for sewing and lashing.

● 284 The principal knots used are simple ones and include the single and double overhand, the "choker" or running noose, the slip hitch, and the weaver's knot or short bend. The running noose is used to fasten straps, used as stakes, to a fish net. The slip hitch is widely used when a knot is required which can readily be opened. It is employed, for example, to tie tent ropes to guy poles or to hang up bags of food. The short bend is used to secure two ends of line and is also employed to fasten a length of line to the corner of a tarp (Fig. 3, a). The split handle of an ax is sometimes bound together with babiche applied as a sailor or hammock hitch (Fig. 3, c). When a moosehide or beaver skin is baked to a stretcher it often secured at the beginning with a lark's head or cow hitch. This knot is also occasionally used in beginning the filling of the center panel of snowshoes. Women also braid a wooden line from yarn, making a four strand square braiding which is used to hold mittens around the neck.[1]

281 Skinwork. Two types of skinwork may be distinguished: the skinning and stretching of fine furs designed for commerce, and the skinning, stretching, and tanning of moosehide and caribou hide used in domestic manufactures.

For hunting animals, which are trapped or shot, are usually brought into camp before being skinned. In skinning a small animal, such as a squirrel, weasel, mink, or muskrat, the animal is placed on its back, the hind legs outstretched. With a sharp pocket knife, a cut is made at the extremity of one of the rear legs extending through the skin to the muscle. The cut is continued up the leg, across the underneathen of the body and to the pads at the lower end of the other leg. In making this incision, care must be taken not to cut through the muscle tissue and expose the viscera. The cut passes anteriorly to the anus and male genitals. After the cut is completed the animal is seized by one of its hind legs and the index finger of the other hand inserted between the skin and muscle tissue at approximately the second joint. Using the finger, the skin is loosened all around the leg at this point. When this is done the skin is stripped away from the lower portion of the leg and paw. The same process is repeated on the opposite hind leg. The skin is now pulled away from the upper portion of each leg. Upon reaching the body, the finger is inserted under the skin to loosen it from the lower region of the animal's back. A second cut is then made extending in a semicircle from the first horizontal cut posteriorly around the male genitals and anus. Following this incision, the index finger is again inserted between the skin and the back muscle of the animal and worked toward the tail. Upon reaching the tail, the finger joins the thumb to pull

[1] See Chamberlain and Shetrone, Encyclopedia of Boone County, page 58, Fig. 2.

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378 335 split spruce sapling, about three quarters of an inch in diameter. While the inner surface of the pole is carefully planed, the outer bark is not removed. This crosspiece is nailed about a foot below the first pair and at the lowest point of the rising curve. The worker next cuts four crosspieces two inches wide and a quarter inch thick. These are placed along the body of the vehicle, beginning at the extreme rear and about twenty inches apart. They do not, however, extend the full width of the toboggan but to about three quarters of an inch from each side. On that side of the crosspiece which is to fit against the toboggan boards, the worker cuts two grooves at points about one inch from either end. These grooves are cut about three quarters of an inch wide and half an inch deep. To cut these grooves, they are first outlined with a pencil. The extremes of the groove are then sawed to the proper depth. Using the tip of a butcher knife as a chisel, the worker removes the wood between the cuts of the saw. The blade of the knife is also used to trim away uneven edges of wood. The outer edges and corners of each crosspiece are bevelled. The piece is then nailed to the toboggan, the nails being driven down from the upper surface. The excess length of nail coming through the wood of the running surface is bent back toward the rear of the vehicle.

Old Man pointed out that this was an unsatisfactory way of constructing a toboggan since the bent nails would work away from the boards when the vehicle was in use. Also wear on the boards, such as would be produced by traveling over windfalls, would soon expose too much of the nailed surface. These predictions were fulfilled. After his first trip with the new toboggan Hans removed the nails and drove them into the vehicle from the running surface. Old Man pointed out that many people join the crosspieces to the runners with babiche line. When this is done, the worker first drills a hole through the thickness of the crosspiece and then makes two holes through the runners. The line is countersunk where it passes under the body of the vehicle.

When all of the crosspieces are in place, the running surface of the toboggan is placed smooth, care being taken to avoid the projecting nails. The rear end of the boards are sawed even with the last crosspiece. A three quarter inch hole is drilled in the exact center of the front of the vehicle between the two center boards and directly below the forward pair of crosspieces. Here the guide rope, a piece of manilla line about a half inch in diameter and four yards long, will be tied. Two holes, half an inch in diameter, are then drilled in the front of each of the outside running boards immediately below the forward crosspieces. In line with these holes, grooves are cut in the outer bevelled edges of the forward cross- [294] pieces. From these holes lines, of double twisted babiche or insulated copper cable, lead around the front of the vehicle and are then drawn back to the first grooved crosspiece where they are fastened together. These lines serve to prevent the curve from leaving the toboggan when the wood becomes damp. On each side of the toboggan, between the first and last grooved crosspiece, a tight babiche or insulated wire line is strung. The line passes through the grooves and is fastened to the rear crosspiece. This lashing is used to secure the dog harness, and under it passes the cordage that secures goods on the toboggan.

378 335 157 An attempt was made to note the reactions expressed by Hans during the construction of a toboggan. He was somewhat uncertain if the materials available were adequate for the task. For example, he was dissatisfied with the fact that one of the boards was bowed from black birch instead of white, fearing that the knots would cause it to split. In putting to-

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much longer than those found on toboggans. Instead of fitting on the rear of the conveyance, the handlebars of a sleigh extend about halfway to the front of the vehicle where they are screwed in place. A lashing of babiche runs along each side of the sleigh body and is used for tying down the load. Shafts are employed with the dog harness. These are cut from green spruce poles, about six feet long and three inches in their greatest diameter. They are attached to the sleigh by means of babiche. The line passes through a pair of holes drilled in the most forward stanchion on each side of the sleigh and through corresponding holes drilled at the lower end of each shaft.

Sleighs are packed the same way as toboggans and their management follows similar principles. When not in use they stand on one side or else are stored on sleigh racks. When left standing with the runners in the snow, ice forms which must be knocked off before the vehicle can be used.

Toy sleds, about three or four feet long, are played with by children around the winter settlements.

Foot travel is the commonest form of overland summer travel, although some Nelson Indian children and women ride horses when long distances must be covered. In winter, children from five or six years of age generally walk, while younger children are packed on the mother's back or else ride in sleighs and toboggans. No particular type of foot-gear is regarded as most suitable for land travel in summer, although moccasins are preferred for hunting. In winter moccasins are always worn and, under these, snowshoes.

Snowshoes have several functions. By relieving the strain of plodding through deep snow and the problem of slipping on an unevenly packed trail, they reduce fatigue in winter travel. They also facilitate travel, since a person can go faster on snowshoes than by plodding through deep snow unaided. Finally these aids are necessary in breaking trail for dogs, and therefore increase the daily distance which these animals can cover.

Snowshoes are of two types. The first, used for hunting and trapping, generally equals the wearer's height in length and is about a foot wide. These are used when a man desires to travel cross country as rapidly as possible, the size of the webbed area preventing him from sinking too deeply into the snow. While such "big snowshoes" are known, their use was not observed among the Upper Laird Indians during the period of field work. The second type is used in breaking trail for dogs and vehicles and for hunting or trapping. Their length is also apportioned to the height of the wearer, a five foot man generally wearing snowshoes about three feet long and ten inches wide. Left and right foot snowshoes are recognized, the greatest curve of the wood being on the outside of the foot. Snowshoe frames are prepared by men and the panels are almost always filled by women. The details of lacing and of the foot lashing follow the style which has been traditional since aboriginal times and will not be described here.

In contrast to what has been said for other areas,[18] the Kaska Indian tends to walk on

[18] A detailed description of putting on, walking, and turning with snowshoes will be found in Osgood, *Ingalik Material Culture* (1940), 349-350. The picture he gives there is in complete agreement with what was noted among the Kaska. Personal use of snowshoes revealed that it takes no more than two or three hours to become used to them in walking. Learning to turn takes longer time, and a number of days are required before their presence on the feet comes to be unobtrusively noted. So far as their indispensability is concerned, there can be no question.

291 294 sole sewed inside to make them more comfortable for walking. Formerly when holes came in the soles or toes of moccasins they were soled and patched. Nowadays many people do not trouble doing this but throw away moccasins when the soles wear into holes. The laces or strings of moccasins are arranged somewhat differently from the common methods in vogue among the Interior Salish and Kutenai. 291 294 284 Each moccasin has two strings, one on each side. One end of the string is knotted to prevent pulling through, and the other end is passed from the inside through an awl hole made in the foot part of the moccasin a little below the upper edge and about half way between the heel and toe or immediately below the shin bone. The string now passes through two holes made close together two or three inches further forward on the side of the instep near the junction of the foot piece with the tongue and upper. It passes in through one hole and out through the other. This arrangement makes a loop on each side of the foot through which the free ends of the strings are passed from opposite sides across the front of the ankle, keeping in place the front of the uppers, which are folded across the top or free part of the tongue. The two strings are then wound around the uppers from opposite directions and their ends tied. This method of arranging moccasin laces, although good, is inferior to the common methods of the Interior Salish and Kutenai. Among the Tahltan I have not noticed laces consisting of a single string encircling the foot nor with double loops at the sides, nor with ends twisted back around the loops, nor with strings passing through the tongue and uppers.

291 294 Wet moccasins were not stuffed with dry grass to shape them when drying. Formerly small sticks were used by some to keep them stretched.

No lasts were used in the making or shaping of moccasins.

No sandals were used and no fish-skin moccasins.

[292 Only fancy moccasins had double tongue pieces. The ornamented piece was uppermost. The lower piece was considered the real tongue. Sometimes the outside of the leather was turned in, whereas the leather in the rest of the moccasin was always the reverse way.

In shape, tongues were universally rounded in the lower part where they fitted into the foot piece of the moccasin. Most of them were cut square across at the upper edge. A few, however, had the upper edge more

292-294 [77] its introduction. The sharp-nosed type is said to have been adopted from the Ingalik and after its introduction became for a time the common shoe of the Tahltan. Later it was superseded by the shovel-nosed type adopted from the Ingalik and upper Taku Indians and this kind is now almost the only shoe used by the tribe.

[78] a) Two other kinds of snowshoes are mentioned by the Tahltan as having been in use formerly. One of these called the "duck's breast-bone shoe," seems to have resembled the "shovel nose" -- somewhat in the form of the toe, but the latter was wider and less curved towards. I did not receive further information on this type of shoe except that it was also used by the Ingalik formerly.

[79] b) The other kind of snowshoe called "round or oval nose" had a frame of two sticks which were thinned and joined together with a strong lashing at the toe. The latter was wider and more rounded than the present round-toed shoe of the Kaska, which has a very narrow point. It had only one cross bar forward of the foot and two in all. It seems to have resembled the flat shoe No. 2 in every way except that the "nose" was turned up and possibly a little narrower, and the frame was always of two pieces. This shoe therefore seems to correspond to the all-ice or ordinary snowshoe of the Carrier. (See Morice p. 133). It seems to be almost if not quite obsolete nowaday - but it is said to have been at one time very common among both the Tahltan and Kaska. Snowshoes of the bear foot type (See Morice p. 134, Fig. 44), according to my informants, were never used by the Tahltan even in remote times.

[80] 292 Some snowshoes especially those of women are ornamented with short tufts of colored yarn at intervals along the outside of the frame and on the "nose." It seems this is comparatively modern. (See National Museum specimen No. 77.)

292 • 294 The tie strings or straps of snowshoes were of thongs or strips of leather. It seems sometimes two strings were used and sometimes a single piece. The latter is said to be the oldest. The methods of adjusting and tying these straps to the snowshoe and to the foot varied in different tribes. Some informants claimed a tie exactly similar to that used by the Carrier (as shown by Morice, Fig. 141) was in use. I noticed two methods of adjusting the strings

among the Tahltan. These will be seen at a glance by referring to the sketches. Both are single string fastenings; both were common and both are said to be old. Of these two common styles, that represented by A seems to be most common; one informant claimed it to be an older style than B. Some men use an additional piece of thong or a wrapping around the part of the shoe string which goes over the top. This is to thicken it and to prevent cutting into the toe.

"Snowshoe square or oregone /sic, grizzard/ were in use. These consisted of tips of goat's horns attached to snowshoes to prevent slipping on very hard or heavily crusted snow and icy ground. Two were attached to each shoe on each side of the frame near the front cross bar where they were lashed in place, the butt end of each of them was notched on one side to better fit the frame. They are still used. (See National Museum specimens Nos 288 and 289). According to Dawson similar spurs are also used by the Chilcat and Stikine etc. (See Dawson p. 64).

A winter walking stick or snowshoe staff was in use, chiefly by hunters in deep snow. It was made of sapling spruce and had near the lower end a circular snowshoe-like frame filled with a netting of babiche. Most of them were of the same type as used by the Carrier (See Morice, Fig. 144). In some others differed only in the method of netting. (Also see description by Dawson, p. 64). These sticks are now seldom used.

Most informants claim that no methods were in vogue for preventing the slipping of moccasins on icy ground. All agree that no dried pieces of leather for this purpose were used in soles of moccasins as was common among the Interior Indian. However a few people used a somewhat different method which I have noticed on at least two pairs of old moccasins taken away at Tahltan hunting camps. Instead of strips of leather used as, a thong is passed in and out through small holes or small slits made in the sole of the moccasin across the heel and the ball of the foot. The end of the thong is doubled back and threaded through the loops or parts of the thong on the outside of the sole. This forms cross pieces on the sole of the moccasin resembling twisted cords.

under the other across the back of the dog, either end being available as top cover. Material to be packed is placed in the bags, it being necessary to have the contents of each about equal in weight. The covers of the bags are fastened down with a lacing of thongs passed through a series of loops of the same material in the upper sides of the bags, the lacing passing from one bag to the other across the dog's back and the back of the dog. The bags are kept in place by a single cinch rope of leather or canvas about two or twelve feet long which is first passed around the ends of the bags below the sides of the dog and then around the bags underneath the dog and back over the top to the point of commencement. There are several slightly different methods of fastening the bags. (For specimen of the common dog packing of the Indians see National Museum specimen No. 231).

Dogs pack weights of twenty to fifty pounds according to their size or strength. Families have two or three to six or more dogs. The difficulty of feeding them in certain seasons often alone limits their number. Large pulling dogs good for both packing and driving and well enough trained to withstand severe cold are in demand and some dogs exchange for as high as $40.00 or even more.

Horses

The Indians use the first horses about 1811, when pack trains of horses and mules arrived overland from the southern interior of British Columbia to pack during the gold mining excitement. The packers with these trains were Whites of various nationalities. Horses and Indians from the Okanagan and Similkameen valleys and from Thompson River, accompanying the latter were two Shuswaps Indians, one a Tsilcos and one a Bellacoola. Most of these pack trains handled some returned, and after a time most help of this kind was supplied by young men of the Indians, who thus became acquainted with horse packing, and horse management, including shoeing of horses. With the discontinuance of mining most of the pack trains had left by 1864. However, some horses were retained in the country for packing purposes by traders and others and there was again an increase of horses and packing during the Klondike excitement. Later packing of supplies for the Yukon Telegraph line and development of the game hunting due to the annual arrival of sporting visitors, added to the packing done by traders

with twisted fringes on one side. It is said the design here on special significance, being merely for ornamentation, each person making them according to fancy. (For illustrations of these bows and other designs see illustrations of 22 of them, Smeins, Fig. 121. For illustration of a pocketbag see Smeins, Fig. 11. The Tetons state this is a woman's strap, but also National Museum specimens 21).

Some pack-straps were made of heavy leather throughout, but these did not differ in size and construction from those of bag skin.

At the present day Indians' bag necks are sometimes used in place of hoops-sticks for carrying light loads across the chest of the load. Broad straps attached to handles for carrying across the chest were made of plaited rawhide strings, fibres or four strands. These varied in length and the longer ones were used as dog halters and for various other purposes. In carrying they were often doubled (specimen 21, National Museum).

Many loads had breast-straps as well as head-straps attached to them so persons could relieve the strain by using one and then the other. Heavy loads were carried on the back, especially up hill or on difficult ground -- but light loads were frequently carried across the chest. Pieces of skin, blankets, clothing, etc., were often used around the shoulders, across the chest, and even across the head under the straps to relieve the pressure with heavy loads. If the material packed was hard, pads were sometimes placed between the back and the load for similar reasons.

Shoulder and large bags for transportation were lashed in various ways with ends of various lengths. Some of these both ropes and fringes made of bunches of long and other animals which were used for attaching the ropes around. These were employed for neater adjustments and fastenings of the rope. Among Assiniboine one of the methods of attachment (see Denman p. 21). But other common methods of lashing and adjustment are looking as arranged on women's pack bag, National Museum specimens No. 43 and 47. (The latter has been lost since). Small quantities of meat were carried in game bags, but large loads were tied up in hanging skin carriers like and carried with a head-strap. Strain was generally put between

the meat part and the back, or sometimes the folded skin of the animal. Meat for carrying was also rolled up and lashed in the skin. No skewers were run through the pieces of meat to keep them in position nor were temporary bags made of skins as among the Nitak and Stuhini. /Use of the Dalkhan Nakyepamuk or "Thompson River Indians"/

Skins however were made into temporary toboggans and were hauled in them on the snow as among the Interior Salish.

Skin Toboggans

As already mentioned skin toboggans are still used to some extent for hauling stuff on the snow and before the advent of the wooden dog sled were extensively used for this purpose. They were made of large skins of caribou in the hair, trimmed in oval width and sewed together with sinew, the hair /being placed/ all the same way and lengthwise with the toboggan. The bag or /the/ toboggan is closed at the top with a rawhide string which passes through slits cut in the skin along the borders. The two line passes through two heavy loops of hide at the head, the skin there being drawn together when in use making the toboggan narrow and easier to drag in the snow. Women generally hauled these toboggans (See National Museum specimen No. ; also description of Emmons p. 53).

Trade

According to tradition very long ago there was little or no intertribal trading and the Tahltan grew entirely the following of pre-trading days. People were few and widely scattered and therefore seldom met each other. Long ago the Tlingit of the Coast were never met. They never came up the Stikine very far and the Tahltan never went down far. There was thus no trading with the Tlingit. At last Tlingit commenced to come up the river and finally met the Tahltan. After this they came often and finally came annually. The time when trading with the Tlingit commenced was long ago, but still not so very long ago. The time is quite indefinite. It seems, however, that the Tlingit have traded with the Tahltan for a long time back. No doubt a great impetus was given to this trade by the arrival of trading vessels among the Tlingit in the beginning of last century and the establishment of trading posts by the Russians. In the quest for furs the Tlingit engage in this trade middlemen between the

b: Honigmann E-5 (1941-1945)1954 ND12 Nelson ND12

Upper Lloyd
Yukon R.

In warm weather but for a week during winter. Summer babiche broke easily in comparison to the winter variety. Cold weather drying also rendered the line softer and more flexible. Stretching frames for drying babiche were not generally used, although for heavy drying such line might be wrapped around a snowshoe. Fibre fully twisted and stroked little more smoked-skin line, of whose manufacture little need be said. Men collected the roots for spruce-root cordage but all subsequent stages of manufacture were carried out by women who scraped the roots with a crude knife and then boiled them for about half an hour. The worker then split each root, smaller ones being split only once but very thick roots four times. Occasionally spruce roots were bundled. This line kept best when loosely hung up and coiled to spoil if wound tightly. When spruce roots became hard and dry, they could be softened with grease but urine was never used for this purpose. While willow line, made in emergencies to pack meat, consisted of a long willow branch softened by heating over fire and then twisted until the fibers had been well broken. Willow bark line found a host of uses and yielded material for fish nets. Willow roots, collected by men, were softened through an hour's boiling, split, and then used for cordage. To manufacture green line women gathered the high sedge growing along lake shores, bundled two sleeves for transportation back to camp, the material had to be fabricated quickly before it dried. Twisting converted the green tree line into material useful for only a short period of time. When confronted with the information that the Tahltan had woven goat's wool into blankets our informants (1) opined that the Kaska must have done the same thing,[1] Among the fibers commonly applied to the foregoing types of cordage are the running cross, bowline, and overhand. Two ends of babiche were spliced by means of a short bend.

Dene Bow Kudu. Some tools constituted the basic equipment in the Dene Bow area. A flexible bone as well as skeleton provided materials for blades which were then hafted to handles of bone or spruce and birch wood. Sinew or babiche line secured the hafting. To process blades into or women manufactured crabbeds from smoked caribou hide. The carcasses attached under the snow left of a person's garments. Although a woman had her own knife to bone did not differ from the man's and the objects were designated by a common term. Before beginning an duty alone a man might sing a hallowee while repeating the song, "Ghaaeda, ghaaeda." The charm owned its magical power to aid him in the work.

Concerning work in duty, we found it impossible to check the testimony of our informants (2) that vessels said to be shaped from dish substances and hardened by firing.

The surface of game's bone after served as a knife tool for woodworking and some uses were denied. Men split logs with wooden wedges and used spruce bedding tools as under. Uses in pushing spruce bark.

Bone considered an important material for knife blades, the material being "scraped" to an edge and hafted to a bone or wooden handle. Women used skin fleshers derived from the leg bone of the caribou as well as skeleton scrapers for removing the hair of a hide. Sewing needles of fish bone are said to have been of recent introduction, supplanting bone awls. Unprocessed bones have provided an ice chisel as well as material for

[1] See, for Tahltan (Athabaskan) Wool (1945), ref.

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Upper Level

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Rabbit traps were of both the lifting-pole and spring-pole types. They were mainly constructed by boys and women. With each spring-pole snare went a notched trigger stick about three-eighths of an inch in diameter and three inches long (Fig. 3, a). The person going to set snares provided himself with a supply of these before leaving camp. At a rabbit run the trapper cut a foundation pole (Fig. 3, d), which he suspended loosely in brush or snare about ten inches above the ground. Above this he bent down the willow spring-pole toggle (c) and to it fastened the doubled end of the snare line with a eye hitch. The other end was bent around the trigger stick, thereby securing it to the foundation pole below which the noose was spread, supported by twigs. Entering the snare a rabbit would dislodge the trigger stick, thus releasing it from the foundation pole and freeing the spring pole, which flew upward, lowering the rabbit, snare line, and trigger stick along. Five minutes sufficed to set such a snare.[1]

•[584]

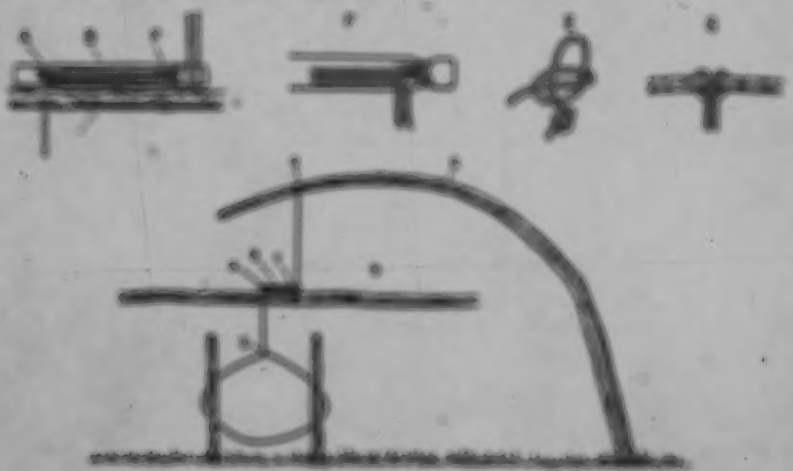


FIG. 3. Spring-Pole Rabbit Snare.

The bear, marten, mink, fisher, beaver, and ground hog were also hunted with deadfalls, the construction of which varied somewhat for the different animal species. Bear deadfalls consisted of a double log above which a notched pole trigger stick propped up a fall log measuring a foot or more in thickness. Vertical poles driven into the ground on either side of the trap secured a sliding fall log to the propped-up end of the fall log, while the opposite portion rested in a short, forked stick driven into the ground. Marten and otter deadfalls followed the same pattern but required only a two-inch diameter fall log, which rested directly on the ground. For fisher a somewhat

[1] Similar snares occurred among the Ingalik and Tanaina, the Tagish, Ingalik, Kaniagmiut Eskimo (Osgood, 1936, 1937 and Ingstad, Ethnographic of the Tanaina (1937), 19. The apparently greater complexity of the Kaska practice may be related to the fact that moose were more plentiful

even, does not grow in the Condon.[6] Aboriginally wood for snowshoe frames was bent after first being carefully shaved with the teeth. The forward overlap of the two parts of the frame amounted for about five inches on a mid-snowshoe and somewhat more on the shorter bearing variety. Two or three cross pieces resulted in three or four panels. A rounded snowshoe, it is claimed, did not sink into the snow as much in front as the pointed variety nor would it pick up as much snow.[7] While known aboriginally, the pointed snowshoe became more common following European contact.

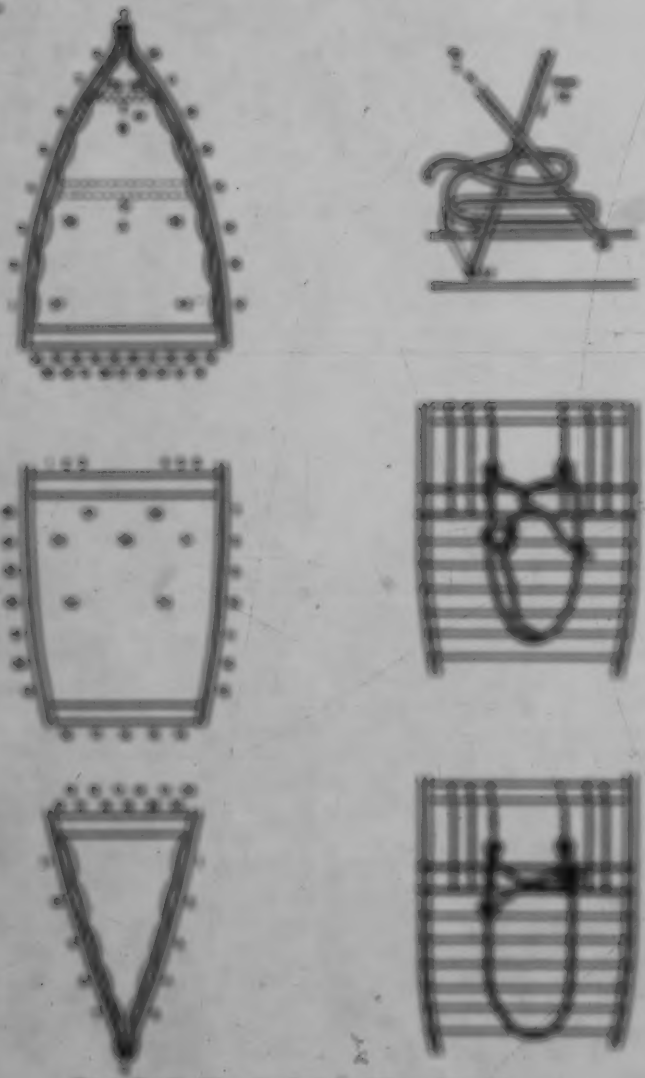
A craftsman "tailored" the size of snowshoes to their intended function. If designed for breaking trail in front of a toboggan or for following an already broken trail, the average size person could get along with snowshoes about three and a half feet long. Running snowshoes, designed for crossing over the surface of deep, loosely packed snow, almost equalled the height of the prospective wearer, the width being somewhat adjusted to the user's relative weight. Two varieties of babiche line served for filling, first, a heavy cordage that was woven into the cross panel supporting the direct weight of the wearer, and second, a fine line for the front and rear panels. Both men and women learn how to fill snowshoes but the process generally occupied the latter. In applying the line filling the artisan needed a bone snowshoe needle. In one type of needle the blunt end of the instrument was made concave in order to push through the line. The other end formed a slight hook, useful for pulling the line upward through filling already laid down. Another type of needle, made of wood or bone, contained a minute eye in which to anchor the filling cord. Prior to lacing, loops of cordage had to be provided around the inside of the frame, to which the webbing of the front and rear panels could be anchored. Holes for these loops are still sometimes to have been drilled with a piece of hardwood inserted to a given and then passed against the appropriate point of the frame. Several advantages of the "awl" were necessary to complete the task. Bone-and pyroxylon-tooth awls served as much more efficient drills.

The following patterns of snowshoe lacing are derived from an analysis of contemporary snowshoes. No cultural differences from aboriginal practice could be discovered. When starting to fill a snowshoe the worker usually turned to the front panel, the line beginning on the right hand side (Fig. 9, CHIPPEWA LACE, facing front end of snowshoe). One end of the line passed through the first crosswork loop (1) where it was tied with a double overhand knot. The other end was carried back to the crosspiece. Bending over the top of the cross (2) it came out from below and carried up to the toe where it bent over the babiche which here held the frame together (3). (Aboriginally the CHIPPEWA type shoes must have been provided with loops going completely around the front of the panel.) Coming out from below, the line crossed against its own part and

[6] Early Wisconsin reads "a carefully sort a rotting snowshoe and bent" among the Ojibwa (Densmore, Chippewa Indians, Smithsonian 61st Annual Report, 1910, 401, 404, 405; Frances Densmore, Northern Ojibwa, 1932, Ottawa, 1936, 134).

[7] In Fort Totten an informant expressed an opposite preference when he said that snowshoe tops of birch are "in the country, but in the North, where the snow is packed hard, they use an ash" (Skinner, Ethnography and Archeology of the Fort Totten Area, 1916, 61). Needless to say there is no difference in the quality of the wood between the Fort Totten and Turtle areas. The opposite opinion (Fargo snowshoe manual) is largely urban genesis.

Upper Lizard



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proceeded back to the forward strut at the extreme left of the shoe. Bending over the top of the strut (34) it came up from below, twisted around itself, and went to the first framework loop on the left side of the shoe (1) through which it passed from above. When pulled through this loop, the line bent against its own part enroute to the next station on the opposite side of the panel. Here, from above, it entered framework loop (6), bent against its own part, and traveled to the next station on the crosspiece (19). The same pattern was now repeated. In going forward, the line wove under the strands previously laid (1-17, etc.). All strands passed under the braces (a and a). In the snowshoe represented the forepart future (a) consisted of several thicknesses of twisted babiche. The lacing may be followed to its conclusion by referring to the following pattern and to Figure 6.

Pattern of lacing, front panel of snowshoe (Fig. 6, version used): (1, 18, 9, 36 (twist around 9-36), 1, (1, 18, 9, 36 (twist around 9-36), 1, 18, 35, 9, 36, 35 (twist around 36-35), 9, 34, 33, 7, 11, 32 (twist around 34-32), 7, 10, 31, 11, 30 (twist around 31-30), 10, 29, 9, 28 (twist around 30-28), 9, 27, 8, 26 (twist around 28-26), 8, 25, 7, 24 (twist around 26-24), 7, 23, 6, 22 (twist around 24-22), 6, 21, 5, 20 (twist around 22-20), 5, 19, 4, 18 (twist around 20-18), 4, 17, 3, 16 (twist around 18-16), 3, 15, 2, 14 (twist around 16-14), 2, 13, 1, 12 (twist around 14-12), 1, 11, 30 (twist around 12-30), 4, 10, 31, 9. This line then twice around the 9-31 strand from above (31), twisted around its own part four times, twice around the 9-17 strand from above (17), twisted around its own part five times, and then proceeded to stations 7 and 16. While this running was completed the line traveled back to the 9-17 strand, then around the strand from above (9), twisted around its own part six times, and then passed on to the 9-19 strand. It then around the strand from above (19), twisted around its own part four times, and proceeded to the next station. The pattern then was: 20, 5, 16, 21, 7, 12, 23, 5, 14, 25, 7, [illegible] 9-17 strand, then around the strand from above (17), twisted around its own part four times and proceeded to stations 9 and 18. After making this crossing the line traveled to the 9-19 strand, then around the strand from above (19), twisted around itself four times counter to the twists there, to [illegible] from above the line ran four times around the 4 lines constituting this brace (21), twisted around its own part, and proceeded to stations 20, 5, 22, 7. The concluding knot included its own part and the 20-7 section (see Fig. 6, center panel).

Lacing the rear panel (heavier) differs from the general pattern governing the front. The lacer held the shoe with the heel forward and began at her right hand side (Figure 6, center view). The line was tied to the rear portion of framework loop number 11 with a double overhand knot, drawn back to (1), bent across the top of the crosspiece and, running out below, proceeded to the next station, 6. Here the line bent from above around the babiche holding the heel of the snowshoe together. Coming out below 6 twisted around itself twice from left to right and proceeded to the crosspiece (22). 6 bent around this area from above (to emerging the line bent against itself and proceeded to framework loop 1, which 6 crossed from above, bent against itself on emerging, and crossed to the opposite framework loop (11). In going forward (toward the heel of the shoe) the line passed under the strands previously laid while in returning to the crosspiece the line went under the strands already put in place. The lacing may be followed to its conclusion in the following pattern:

Pattern for lacing rear panel of snowshoe (Fig. 6, center view): (1, 2, 6 (double twist around 22-6), 6, 3, 11, 22, 3, 7, 22, 3, 11, 22, 3, 7, 22, 3, 11, 22, 3, 7, 22

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahana ND12
Upper Liard

The lacing of the center panel (Figure 4, CENTER LEFT) is more complicated than that of the front or rear. The worker began by tying a single overhand knot to the left hand frame just below the forward crosspiece (Fig. 4, CENTER LEFT), station 23, facing front end of the snowshoe.* The line then traveled three times across and back between the left and right sides of the frame (23, 7), in each case bending around the outside of the frame. This gave six thicknesses of babiche, three at the top and three at the bottom of the frame. Coming up and bending across the top of the left hand frame after the final crossing, the line was drawn back to its next station (24) and made four crossings between the left and right sides of the frame (24, 8), giving four thicknesses of babiche. This time, when the line came up to bend over the top of the left side of the frame, it bent around the four lines just laid and proceeded forward to bend over the top of the forward crosspiece (1). Coming out from below, the line twisted twice from left to right around its own part between the crosspiece and the 23-7 strand, and drew taut in the same direction between the 23-7 and 24-8 strands before proceeding to the rear crosspiece. It bent over the top of the strut (16), came up from below, and twisted against itself. Going forward the line went toward the right-hand side of the shoe to the forward crosspiece, across which it bent from above (6); came out from below; twisted around itself twice from left to right between the forward strut and the 23-7 strand, and twice more in the same direction between the 23-7 and 24-8 strands. Coming out from the 24-8 strand, the line bent against itself crossover to the near station on the right side of the frame. Bending across the top of the frame (8) the line came up, bent against itself, and proceeded to the opposite frame (22), bending across this from below. On emerging the line bent against itself and proceeded to station 2, above the lines previously laid. The rest of the lacing may be followed from the following pattern. Going forward the line passed over strands previously laid; going toward the rear crosspiece it went under the already laced horizontal strands.

Pattern for lacing center panel of snowshoe (Fig. 4, CENTER LEFT): (2), 7, (6), 8, 1 (double twist between forward crosspiece and 23-7 strand); triple twist between 23-7 and 24-8 strands), 16, 6 (double twist, repeated as above), 8, (2), 2 (triple twist between forward crosspiece and 23-7 strand, double twist between 23-7 and 24-8 strands), 11, 21[a] (single twist between 24-8 and 23-3 strands, repeated between 23-8 and 23-10 strands), 10, (2), 20 (single twist, repeated as above), 11, (2), 3 (triple twist between forward crosspiece and the 23-7 strand, double twist between 23-7 and 24-8 strands), 12, 23[b] (single twist between 23-10 and 23-11 strands, repeated between 23-11 and 24-12 strands), 12, (2), 22 (single twist, repeated as above), (2), 4 (double twist between 23-7 and 24-8 strands), 13, 5, (2) (double twist between 23-7 and 24-8 strands). The line now around the 24-8 strand from below (24), twisted around the 24-8 line now between the 23-7 strand and the forward crosspiece, passed under the crosspiece and came up to pass from right to left across the six forward running lines of the front panel (i.e., those proceeding from stations (2), (6), (7), (8), (9), (1) in Figure 4, CENTER LEFT). The line now passed under the

*In the case of the shoe made by the same worker the lacing at this point began by the line being pulled through a hole cut in the end of the wire pack.

[a] This station, as well as 24, represents points where the line bent across only the top two lines of the four thicknesses of babiche which had been laid between stations 24 and 8.

[b] This station, as well as 23, represents bends around the 23-10 strand.

6. Honigmann E-9 (1941-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

[illegible] runner, runs up from below and [illegible] across the 20-7 strand from above (27), [illegible] across the [illegible] crosspiece from above (3), then [illegible] three times around the 3-16 strand between the forward crosspiece and the 20-1 strand, and [illegible] around the 20-7 strand runners to the left hand frame, where the line [illegible] or makes 23 with a single overhand knot that includes one part of the 20-7 strand.

Two types of harness, both made from smoked-skin line, secured the snowshoe to the moccasin-covered foot. One of these is said to have been introduced into the area from Fort Liard and is currently referred to as the "Indian type" (Fig. 4, CENTER RIGHT). The other was in use among the Liard River and "Tlingit" (probably Tahltan) people (Fig. 4, CENTER RIGHT).

To avoid slipping on steep inclines four-hole pins were sometimes inserted into holes provided at the bottom of each snowshoe. The pins projected about an inch from the wood. The snowshoe staff further aided walking in hilly country. It consisted of a stick about four feet long with a loop that was laced with babiche line. The loop was located a short distance from the lower end of the staff and consisted of a short length of willow bent and lashed in the form of a circle. The filling served to keep the loop offset to the staff. A knot prepared wood for this implement while women customarily added the filling. No distinction exists [illegible] the snowshoe staff could be learned, interpreters designating it merely as "walking stick." Morice, however, has translated the Carrier name for this implement as referring to the "circular attachment which prevents it [the staff] from sinking too much in the snow."[1] Men even wore glasses when traveling across snow made bright by the spring sun. These implements consisted of strips of tanned skin or birch bark provided with eye slits. The area around the slits was blackened with charcoal to further reduce glare.

Land travel in summer or winter generally involved men walking in advance of the women, who remained in charge of children and household goods. This pattern left men free to investigate or follow game, reduced disturbance that might drive away game, and also enabled men to prepare sufficient wood for a comfortable camp before the women arrived. Sometimes women and children did not reach a camp until midnight. In autumn, enroute to the ground-hog trapping grounds in the mountains, a number of families moved together, the men scouting for moose and the women walking in old and well-defined trails. People crossed streams on rafts as well as on log bridges constructed by felling either one, two, or three trees over or by shifting an already fallen tree into position to serve as a span. In traveling to a game hill, as well as in other types of cross country movement, Indians sometimes indicated their route by blazes. One type of blaze consisted of a willow or other branch broken in the specified direction. In an "open place" the route might be indicated by hanging moss in trees, while up in the barren mountain tundra, which composed a sizable part of the Kaska territory, successive rock piles served as guides. River valleys were commonly referred to as giving

[1] Morice, *Carrier Language* (1890), 62. Lantis describes a similar "snowshoe stick" in use among the Nunivak Eskimo: Lantis, *Social Culture of the Nunivak Eskimo* (1946), 165. With information among the Ahtena[illegible] Cora Indians of Alaska they denied the use of snowshoe pegs or the snowshoe staff, the counterpart of the latter may have existed in "crooked" with a notched knife rod. These allusions have proven to support themselves as more. Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946) 48.

? [Erratum. Probably what "means" = Analysis]